

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O 101828Z JUN 78
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 312
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AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 KINSHASA 6080

EXDIS

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D) KINSHASA 6011

1. I MET WITH FOUR OTHER CHIEFS OF MISSION FOR THREE-HOUR WORKING SESSION TODAY JUNE 10 TO MODIFY TEXT CONTAINED REF. A. IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS REF. B. NEITHER FRENCH NOR GERMANS HAD RECEIVED ANY INSTRUCTIONS AND FOR THAT MATTER CLAIMED THEY STILL HAD NOT EVEN RECEIVED TEXTS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS WORKED OUT AT JUNE 5

MEETING. THEY NEVERTHELESS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN TODAY'S WORKING SESSION ON UNDERSTANDING THEY DOING SO ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE AND ON

TOTALLY AD REFERENDUM BASIS.

2. IN CONSIDERING MODIFICATIONS THERE WAS UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT THAT TEXT WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY COUCHED IN LANGUAGE DESIGNED TO MINIMIZE CHANCES THAT MOBUTU WILL REACT NEGATIVELY AND CHARGE INTERFERENCE IN ZAIRE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. LIKELIHOOD OF SUCH

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REACTION SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED BY WARNING HE ISSUED ALONG THESE LINES DURING PRESS INTERVIEW JUNE 9 (REC. C). I BELIEVE MODIFICATION S

WE HAVE WORKED OUT WILL SERVE THIS PURPOSE, ALTHOUGH EVEN MY TOUGH-MINDED BRITISH COLLEAGUE HAS HIS DOUBTS AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR CLEARLY HAS LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR THE WHOLE EXERCISE.

3. AS SEEN FROM HERE, WASHINGTON AND OTHER CAPITALS WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO LEARN HARD ON FRENCH AT HIGH LEVEL IF THERE IS ANY CHANCE OF OUR MAKING A JOINT DEMARCHE BEFORE THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE. ORIGINAL IDEA HAD BEEN TO INDUCE GOZ DELEGATION TO GO TO BRUSSELS PREPARED TO LISTEN TO AND DISCUSS REFORMS. EVEN IF DEMARCHE MADE BY JUNE 12, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT WOULD BE RESULT. I BELIEVE A COMMON, FULLY COORDINATED DEMARCHE WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO OUR GOING IN NOW ALONE OR WITH ONLY ONE OR TWO OTHER GOVERNMENTS, THUS PREMATURELY GIVING MOBUTU THE CHANCE HE WANTS TO SPLIT OUR RANKS. IF DELAY BECOMES UNAVOIDABLE WE COULD STILL PARTICIPATE IN BRUSSELS PROCEEDINGS, MAKING CLEAR THAT WE CANNOT MAKE ANY DECISIONS RE FUTURE ASSISTANCE UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF REFORM WITH OTHER DONORS AND WITH THE GOZ. THIS WOULD GIVE US TIME TO TRY TO WORK OUT AGREED TEXT AMONG PARIS FIVE, WHICH WE COULD SUPPLEMENT WITH TIGHTER MESSAGE OF OUR OWN (PERHAPS IN FORM OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S REPLY TO MOBUTU'S RECENT LETTER).

4. DEPARTMENT SHOULD ALSO BEAR IN MIND THAT, EVEN IF AGREEMENT FINALLY REACHED ON JOINT DEMARCHE BY CHIEFS OF MISSION HERE, FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAS HINTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT MAY NOT AUTHORIZE HIM TO TAKE THE LEAD EVEN THOUGH HE IS BY FAR MOST SENIOR OF THE FIVE REPS. BY NOT DOING SO, FRENCH WOULD BE GIVING MOBUTU CLEAR SIGNAL AND THEREBY UNDERMINING IMPACT OF UNANIMITY WE ARE SEEKING TO ACHIEVE. FOR THIS AND OTHER PREVIOUSLY-STATED REASONS, MY OTHER COLLEAGUES AND I CONTINUE
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TO BELIEVE THERE IS MUCH MERIT IN SCENARIO WE HAVE ALREADY PROPOSED: I.E., IDENTICAL TEXTS DELIVERED SIMULTANEOUSLY AT HIGH LEVEL IN INDIVIDUAL CAPITALS, SUPPLEMENTED BY LETTERS FROM CHIEFS OF STATE.

5. FOLLOWING IS FRENCH LANGUAGE TEXT AGREED TO BY FIVE CHIEFS OF MISSION AT JUNE 10 WORKING SESSION:

QUOTE:

A. SUR LA BASE DES CONCLUSIONS DE LA CONFERENCE QUI S'EST TENUE A PARIS LE 5 JUIN 1978, LES GOUVERNEMENTS DES 5 PAYS PARTICIPANTS (RFA, BELGIQUE, ETATS-UNIS, FRANCE, GRANDE-BRETAGNE) ONT JUGE OPPORTUN DE CHARGER LEURS AMBASSADEURS A KINSHASA D'UNE DEMARCHE AUPRES DU PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIC DU ZAIRE POUR LUI RENOUVELER LEUR SOUHAIT DE POURSUIVRE LEUR COOPERATION EN FAVEUR DU DEVELOPPEMENT DU ZAIRE ET EN MEME TEMPS APPELER SON ATTENTION SUR L'ABSOLUE NECESSITE AFIN DE REALISER CETTE COOPERATION, DE CREER LES CONDITIONS GARANTISSANT LA PLEINE EFFICACITE DE CELLE-CI.

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EXDIS

B. LA STABILITE POLITIQUE ET LE PROGRES ECONOMIQUE ETANT
INDISSOLUBLEMENT LIES, LES CINQ GOUVERNEMENTS, SE
PREVALANT DES LIENS D'AMITIE EXISTANT ENTRE LEURS GOUVER-
NEMENTS AT LEURE PEUPLES ET CEUX DU ZAIRE, ESTIMENT
POUVOIR, EN TOUTE FRANCHISE, FAIRE PART AU PRESIDENT
DE LA REPUBLIQUE DE PROEOCCUPATIONS QUI N'ONT D'AUTRE
BUT QUE DE FAVORISER LE CLIMAT DANS LEQUEL SE DEVELOP-
PERONT LES NEGOCIATIONS FUTURES ENTRE LE ZAIRE ET SES
PARTENAIRES APPELES A PARTICIPER AU PLAN DE RELANCE
CONNU SOUS LE NOM DE PLAN MOBUTU.

C. DANS SES DISCOURS DES LE JUILLET ET 25 NOVEMBRE 1977
AINSI QUE DANS SON ALLOCUTION DEVANT LE CONSEIL
LEGISLATIF, LE PRESIDENT FONDATEUR A DEJA FAIT CONNAITRE
DES MESURES VISANT A LA RELANCE DE L'ECONOMIE ET AU
PROGRES DU ZAIRE. PLUSIEURS REFORMES FONDAMENTALES ONT
DEJA ETE ANNOUNCEES. AFIN DE FACILITER LES EFFORTS
COMMUNS POUR FAIRE FACE AUX EXIGENCES DE LA SITUATION,
LES GOUVERNEMENTS DES CINQ SE PREOCCUPENT DE VOIR CES
REFORMS SE POURSUIVRE AVEC TOUTE LA GIGUEUR
SOUHAITABLE, NOTAMENT DANS LES DOMAINES SUIVANTS:
(1) LA POLITIQUE DE RECONCILIATION NATIONALE.

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(2) LA PLEINE PARTICIPATION DE TOUTES LES ENTITES REGIONALES DU ZAIRE A LA VIE NATIONALE DU PAYS.

(3) L'AMELIORATION DU FONCTIONNEMENT DES INSTITUTIONS ZAIROISES.

(4) LA REORGANISATION COMPLETE DES FORCES ARMEES ZAIROISES

D. EN OUTRE, LES CINQ GOUVERNEMENTS ONT LE SENTIMENT QUE LE ZAIRE POURRAIT RENFORCER SA POSITION DIPLOMATIQUE EN POURSUIVANT SON ACTION DANS LES DOMAINES SUIVANTS:

(1) LA PRESNCE DE LA FORCE AFRICAINE POURRAIT ETRE ETAYEE PAR L'ACCORISSEMENT DU NOMBRE DES ETATS PARTICIPANTS;

(2) L'ACTION DIPLOMATIQUE DEJA ENTREPRISE DEVRAIT SE POURSUIVRE POUR OBTENIR LE SOUTIEN DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE D'ETAT AUPRES DES INSTANCES INTERNATIONALES ET NOTAMMENT DE L'OUA.

(3) LA FORCE AFRICAINE MISE EN PLACE AU SHABA AYANT UN CARACTERE TEMPORAIRE, IL EST INDISPENSABLE DE RETABLIR LES BASES DURABLES DE LA SECURITE DANS CETTE REGION.

DANS CETTE PERSPECTIVE, IL ES SUGGERE EUQ LE ZAIRE:

-FAVORISE LE DIALOGUE AVEC L'-ANGOLA ET EN REGLE GENERALE DEVELOPPE SES RELATIONS AVEC LES ETATS VOISINS;

-EXPLORE TOUTES LES POSSIBILITES DE MEDIATION QUE CERTAINS ETATS AFRICAINS POURRAIENT OFFRIR;

-DEVELOPPE SES CONSULTATIONS AVEC LES ETATS SUSCEPTIBLES DE LUI APPORTER LEUR SOUTIEN DEVANT LES INSTANCES AFRICAINES ET INTERNATIONALES.

E. ENFIN, EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA POLITIQUE ECONOMIQUE, IL SEMBLE SOUHAITABLE QUE LES AMBASSADEURS DES CINQ PAYS SOIENT CHARGES D'ETUDIER AVEC LE GOUVERNEMENT ZAIROIS, LE MOMENT VENU, LES MOYENS D'ASSURER QUE TOUTE IMPORTATION ESSENTIELLE D'AIDE D'URGENCE CORRESPONDE A DES BESOINS VRAIMENT PRIORITAIRES ET SOIENTACHEMINEE DE FACON EFFICACE ET DISTRIBUES DIRECTEMENT

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AUX UTILISATEURS FINAUX.

F. PAR AILLEURS, LES CINQ ATTIRENT L'ATTENTION DU PRESIDENT ET DE SON GOUVERNEMENT SUR L'IMPORTANCE D'ABORDER LES PROCHAINES DISCUSSIONS RELATIVES AU PLAN DE REDRESSEMENT ET DE STABLISATION EN PRENANT EN COMPTE LA NECESSITE POUR LE ZAIRE DE METTRE EN OEUVRE DES REFORMES PROFONDES DE SON ECONOMIE, DE SA GESTION ET DE SON ADMINISTRATION. ILS CITENT, A TITRE D'EXEMPLE, LE CONTROLE ET LE RAPTRIEMENT DES DEVISES ETRANGERES AVEC L'ASSISTANCE TECHNIQUE, D'UNE PART DES INSTITUTIONS FINANCIERES INTERNATIONALES ET NOTAMMENT DU F.M.I. ET D'AUTRE PART D'EXPERTS

ETRANGERS JOUISSANT D'UNE LARGE DELEGATION D'AUTORITE. G. DANS UN ESPRIT D'INTERET COMMUN, CHACUN DES CHEFS DE MISSION EST PRET A APPORTER AU PRESIDENT-FONDATEUR LES PRECISIONS QUE POURRAIENT ETRE SOUHAITABLES. UNQUOTE

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6. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF TEXT CONTAINED
PARA 5 ABOVE. (IF TEXT TO BE USED, REQUEST DEPT. HAVE OFFICIAL
TRANSLATION MADE):

QUOTE:

A. ON THE BASIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE WHICH WAS HELD
IN PARIS JUNE 5, 1978, THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE 5 PARTICIPATING
COUNTRIES (FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, BELGIUM, UNITED STATES,
FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN) HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY SHOULD
INSTRUCT THEIR AMBASSADORS AT KINSHASA TO MAKE A DEMARCHE
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE TO REASSURE HIM OF
THEIR DESIRE TO CONTINUE THEIR COOPERATION TOWARD THE
DEVELOPMENT OF ZAIRE AND AT THE SAME TIME CALL HIS ATTENTION
TO THE FACT THAT, IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT SUCH COOPERATION,
IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO CREATE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL
GUARANTEE THE FULL EFFECTIVENESS OF THAT COOPERATION.
B. SINCE POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS ARE VERY
CLOSELY RELATED, THE 5 GOVERNMENTS, TAKING PRIDE IN THE
FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES
AND THOSE OF ZAIRE BELIEVE THEY CANNOT IN ALL FRANKNESS
INFORM THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CONCERNS WHICH HAVE
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AS THEIR ONLY PURPOSE TO PROVIDE THE CLIMATE WHICH WILL DEVELOP FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ITS PARTNERS WHICH ARE CALLED UPON TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RECOVERY PROGRAM CALLED THE MOBUTU PLAN.

C. IN HIS SPEECHES OF JULY AND NOVEMBER 25, 1977AS WELL AS IN HIS SPEECH TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, THE PRESIDENT FOUNDER HAS ALREADY ANNOUNCED MEASURES FOR ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND PROGRESS IN ZAIRE. SEVERAL FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE KNOWN. TO FACILITATE COMMON EFFORTS TO MEET THE DEMANDS OF THE SITUATION, THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE 5 ARE ANXIOUS TO SEE THSE REFORMS FORCEFULLY CARRIED OUT, NOTABLY IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- (1) THE POLICY OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.
- (W) FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE NATIONAL ENTITIES OF ZAIRE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.
- (3) THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE FUNCTIONING OF ZAIRE'S INSTITUTIONS.
- (4) THE COMPLETE REORGANIZATION OF THE ZAIRIAN ARMED FORCES.

D. IN ADDITION, THE 5 GOVERNMENTS FEEL THAT ZAIRE COULD STRENGTHEN ITS DIPLOMATIC POSITION BY CONTINUING ITS ACTION IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- (1) - THE PRESENCE OF AFRICAN FORCES COULD BE BOLSTERED BY INCREASING THE NUMBER OF PARTICIPATING STATES.
- (2) -DIPLOMATIC ACTION ALREADY UNDERTAKEN OUGHT TO BE PURSUED TO OBTAIN THE SUPPORT OF THE GREATEST NUMBER OF STATES IN INTERNATIONALLY AND ORGANIZATIONS, AND PARTICULARLY THE OAU.
- (3) - THE AFRICAN FORCE ESTABLISHED IN SHABA HAVING A TEMPORARY CHARACTER IT IS INDISPENSABLE TO RESTABLISH A DURABLE BASE OF SECURITY IN THIS REGION. IN THIS PERSPECTIVE IT IS SUGGESTED THAT ZAIRE:

- ENCOURAGE A DIALOGUE WITH ANGOLA AND, AS A GENERAL RULE, DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING STATES.
- EXPLORE ALL POSSIBILITIES OF MEDIATION WHICH CERTAIN SECRET

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AFRICAN STATES MIGHT OFFER.

- DEVELOP CONSULTATIONS WITH STATES WHICH MIGHT PROVIDE ASSISTANCE IN AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

E. - FINALLY CONCERNING ECONOMIC POLICY IT SEEMS DESIRABLE THAT THE AMBASSADORS OF THE 5 GOVERNMENTS IN ZAIRE BE CHARGED WITH STUDYING, WITH THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT, THE MEANS OF ASSURING THAT ALL ESSENTIAL IMPORTS OF URGENT AID CORRESPOND TO TRUE PRIORITY NEEDS, ARE DISPATCHED IN AN EFFICIENT MANNER, AND ARE DISTRIBUTED DIRECTLY TO THE FINAL USERS.

F. - THE FIVE DRAW THE ATTENTION OF PRESIDENT AND HIS GOVERNMENT TO THE IMPORTANCE OF APPROACHING THE FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS RELATIVE TO A PLAN OF RECOVERY AND STABILIZATION BY TAKING

INTO ACCOUNT THE NECESSITY OF ZAIRE'S IMPLEMENTING MAJOR REFORMS OF ITS ECONOMY AND IN THE FUNCTIONING OF ITS ADMINISTRATION. THE FIVE CITE AS AN EXAMPLE THE CONTROL AND REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE WITH THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ON THE ONE HAND OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, NOTABLY THE IMF, AND ON THE OTHER HAND THROUGH FOREIGN EXPERTS ENJOYING A LARGE DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY.

G. - IN A SPIRIT OF COMMON INTEREST, EACH OF THE CHIEFS OF MISSION IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE TO THE PRESIDENT-FOUNDER ANY FURTHER DETAILS WHICH MIGHT BE DESIRABLE. UNQUOTE
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